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614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be [791] ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are
171 called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

● 773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

- 773 from van Suchtelen, but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for
example, that the girl was not really in the
form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came
wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one
of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the
other, after having a child in Sikka who produced
the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende
and had children there who became the ancestors
of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was
killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given
to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and
Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I
can see that the myths here have many versions.
The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there.
The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusias-
tic in telling about these myths, and it always
seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

- 778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind
both kampongs and said that they are located
there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu
pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the
lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they
go to these places from time to time, and I must
find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the
new and the old religions.

- 535 They said that there are still plenty of the
old dances and old adat costumes here. They will
put on this ceremonial dress for photographing
later.

- 764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not
on the trunk, as Körner² says for Rea Ndonga) until
they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
[231] the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and
skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and
put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree
burial as unhygienic.

*See p. 21 of Körner c p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography.

cat. 113--Analyst

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 There has been much fighting in the past over
578 the election of a kapitan. In the case of a
634 deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled
614 it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the
624 people have refused to accept such an imposed
choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds a-
round here. The rivalry seems to be between
suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku
has always been trying to get into the kapitan
position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if
perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually
suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about
this and he agreed but probably didn't understand
me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be-
[178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki
mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the ke-
pala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki
mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the
kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au
and sike sani) they said that there were these
offices too in the old days.

773 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the
173 old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that
614 long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere
here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba
was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the
suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the
suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggong-
gora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning
there were five siblings who came from Java, four
brothers and one sister. The four brothers were
Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasi-
radja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went
to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong
in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named
Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he
was the eldest brother and the most powerful of
the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members
of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered
the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs;
9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then
the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled
on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was
later abandoned, and they came down and settled
in the sections of Roworeke called Aibo'u and
Kopo'do. Thus at that time there were five
main suku (maybe only these five) in the area:
Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o;
Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku,
Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
held by these suku were:

- [624]
1. Rewarangga: Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
 2. Reandona: Mosa laki mere of
Manunggo'o.
 3. Nggonggora'ba: Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
 4. Odja: Giri tumba of Roworeke.
 5. Tibo: Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it
is unclear as to what suku they came from.

632 It can be seen that the kapitan descended
624 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
614 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapi-
tanschap was created, Roworeke was made the
capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made
the kapitan of the new district). Later on,
when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku
of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the
kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from
Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the
second of the four brothers, is one of the
eligible. What has happened, however, to the
Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse.
I must look into this later in Worowai.

Wa.
000 trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailo-
long. For example, Riangkamiß had only two suku;
others had none or only one korke, etc. At
Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and
said that we must use him as he was not so good
at writing. Then I asked about whether or not
it might not be a good idea to use an assistant
who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody
there can write well because most of them have
attended only three grades of schooling. Then
we went to the district chief, the kakang, who
was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with
good authority. He said he would order the
Wailolong folk to help and would put at my dis-
posal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he
would order them to let us use one of the rumah
pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked
at length about the situation and it seems that
there are really no people in Wailolong who are
able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are
the ones who know very much. The guru is the
best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for
nineteen generations. He also complained about
how the schools do not have books about Indonesia
and the local affairs, but rather about Europe,
which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The
kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one
had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

Weol

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang.
These folk came in before from Boleng, in North
Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but
when things became crowded, they went below to
kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many
people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for
real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in
Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evi-
dently as coolies) and settled down. There are
many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong
Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
824 scended from the original one. The original an-
784 cestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas.
Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa
(red beans). For example, if a child eats these
unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not
"cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as
is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
562 lusa, but only after performing the rite called
783 ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off
the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of
her husband's clan. The woman marrying into
Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do
the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves
a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into
another clan must do this rite to give up her own
totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and
Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of
stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive.
It is located a little to the side of the path
and in a rather inconspicuous place.

• [773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about
this: it is a woman turned to stone with her
child because she bathed naked) is located four
kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong
Bangkavelo.

23/ In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,¹
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in
the kampong. In the garden itself they kill
only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These
are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent,
Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The
term kraeng is used for all three levels of
nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,¹
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If,
however, there is need of a new tuan tanah
house, labor is given without pay. And if there
is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah
besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the
kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps,
although other kampongs may assist in some way
or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also
114 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
pang) until it was certain that they would not
run away. It is also correct that slaves who
had been in a family for a long time might even
marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

1 [See bibliography, cat. 10 --Analyst]

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampung, the ata ngguah nua [man
614 suku descendants kampung.] I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala
kampung are; here he is an Odja. These taboos
apply not to men nor to children of the suku
but to women who marry into the suku only.
This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the
Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs,
and four other kinds of food. The males of
Odja and the children may eat everything, but the
wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries
[753] into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they
always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese
say that sores on their arms are caused by the
same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato,
eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and
ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
262 called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
753 family). These are set by the father (and by
592 the mother too?) on all the members of the
614 household, including the man, wife and children.
Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago
and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed
the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck
through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared
that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife,
and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct
line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some
head of a line decided it is needed no longer,
and then a feast is given together with an
animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years
hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a
story in his family about the origin of the
taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient
legends to explain their origins. These taboos
of household restrictions are thus a kind of
assumed taboo.

Wu

644 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural
nature is at harvest time, and they may have
a third type if there is an especially good
harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the
Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru
has the mother stone before his house, and one
child stone, but other child stones are used
for foundations of houses. They are inserted
with many other stones in the masonry, but he
pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang,
like the nubanara, which are placed in front of
the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the
mother, and the little ones, her children.
They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and
without them there is no power. Nevertheless,
in Leloba, even when the chief has no more
stones, he still holds some power, as if they
were still there. The guru has three for his
house, for war power, marriage power, and power
among suku, respectively. One of these is in
the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous
power. He says such things seriously.

• [773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago.
They came down from heaven after, or rather
with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the de-
scendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao
means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the
meaning is that the power and with it the
group or man holding it are firmly and inex-
trically tied to this land. However, all sorts
of stones are believed to have power. Many of
them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Belu-
wela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen
suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are
still used for the sections (as is so often
the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbo-
lized by the wooden prau model in the korke
of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
● 773 with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the
largest kampong here. Its population is about
one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Le-
loba have about seven hundred each). There is
a lot of material on the legendary relationships
between the ancestors as seen now in the kam-
pongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a
brother and sister, covered with hair. They
came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on
the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They
were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadum-
boleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumbo-
leng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus
the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side.
The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married
a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka
is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor
is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in
the female origin. Also, the kampongs which
are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this
was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on
the beach side of the mountain, and they are
Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the
Radja's kampong.

War

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court
consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They
call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means
pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of
the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking
each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take
only a little blood. This means that the two
kampongs will not wage war against each other
and that there will be no infringement of recog-
nized boundaries. It means perhaps that they
will help each other in war, but this is not
necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a
war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there
are none here as they are brothers anyway) have
a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in
Ambon. The one kampong here which they know
has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one
with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories
are endless. One could fill many books with
the underlying legends about one kampong here.
Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc.,
has its legendary rationalization. And ritual
keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting
out of past events which explains and justifies
the present order. The ancestors are called upon
to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter
of great concern. Anyone they do not know is
treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone
from another kampong, and even though they may
know another kampong person, if he enters they
all ask him what he is after. The communities
are really closed. Persons of another district
are really alien. The word for stranger is

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582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the
eldest sons of their respective families. Per-
haps this shows that formerly this was just
about an invariable rule.

582 The reasons why several do not do it today
178 are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get
dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's
brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) re-
fusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's
daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's
son because of a lack of affection, and (4)
propaganda via education (I think it is this,
but he says "government") that inbreeding is
bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church,
which can insert this into the schools and thus
beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules
indirectly.)

614 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The
773 Veol folk must clearly be the original people
784 here, because they came out of bamboo right on
this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors
came out of a stone which still stands in the
kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat
on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Is-
land. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Mang-
garai) also originated out of a stone which is
there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another
va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and
therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors
came from animals), the members of that va'u
cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came
from a tree, its members today cannot use that
wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply
must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang:
because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the
lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

~~Wa~~

614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

[764] Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

[62] These kampongs have long since been separate,
[367] but once they were one. There was a man named Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

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865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The
tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each
feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller,
house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are
located here, and also the main post (and in
each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka.
The last, however, does not consist of very
much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors,
and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompong with
614 the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
769 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
● 773 It is near the high hill where the original
532 kampong was located. It was placed there by an
ancestor named Padja (thus like the named
stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the
feasts at the stone. If there is a war, cere-
monies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u
Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a
va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy
stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong,
whence came the original ancestors of va'u
Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the
original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This
was about fifteen generations ago, he says,
and he is a member (this is thus quite recent,
and curious, but maybe these family trees get
foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents
a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems
to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps
a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o
of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about
it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
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526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga. 524 Card games are new and rare. (I noted that he bought a pack recently.) Also, there is a stone in a hole game. There are many children's games.

[535] Dances here are only local dances. There is 532 no sculpture, but they do have the old images. In regard to these old carvings, they do not know who made them. Note the petrification myth 773 regarding Ine Amba. I don't know the story about the Vatu Veol, but I think he has it in his notes.

778 Note: On the map there appears the high little hill near the tjompong. This is called "the place of sunning selves before." Here the people used to sit for sunning themselves, and many still do. However, there are no rites connected with this. It is probably impossible to link this with a sun cult, as in Ambon. It is in the right place for it, as it is a bit off from the old site of the kampong, and on a nearby hill, as in Ambon, where the sun mound is a bit off from the kampong on a hill. Note also that it has the "sun" element in it. And its name was "bangka" ("former") which also applies to the old kampong site, which is called "Bangka Veol."

531 There is quite a bit of wood carving on the houses, especially on the decorations on top. Ordinary, clever men do this. The only real

534 musical instruments are the drum and the gong (and they are amazingly good at them). Bamboo flutes are for individual amusement only; they are not festive instruments. Thus the drum and the gong are the only instruments with any "standing".

1 [Live, the assistant -- Analyst]